

THE
VENTURA COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY



VOL. 34 NO. 4

SUMMER 1989

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The *Quarterly* is published by the Ventura County Museum of History & Art at 100 East Main Street, Ventura, California 93001. The Museum assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed by the authors of the articles.

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Cover photo by Virgil Ketner; the figure depicted is from an exhibit in the Huntsinger Gallery, Ventura County Museum of History & Art.

Illustrations for "Chumash Wind Instruments" by the author. Illustrations for "The Legend of Coyote & Lizard" by Georgia Lee; courtesy, Bear Flag Books of Arroyo Grande. Photos on pages 5, 14 and lower 15 by Maria Ward. Other photographs from the VCMHA collection.

"Chumash Wind Instruments" was originally printed in the May/June 1988 edition of *News from Native California*, copyright retained by Clarence R. Sterling.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Clarence Sterling's involvement with the Chumash people began in 1971 when several traditional Indian leaders showed him the path through a wilderness. In return, he agreed to help preserve that wilderness which winds through the coastal ranges of Santa Barbara and Ventura counties. It was this association as well that prompted Mr. Sterling, a music teacher by trade, to leave his post at Ventura College in 1974 and begin working for various park services. In the late seventies, he helped produce a series of audiovisual programs on the Chumash for California State Parks — "The Chumash People" and Los Padres National Forest — "The Inland Chumash." Not only did he write the scripts for these productions, he performed the narration and music as well. Through these projects, he met and learned from today's primary sources of Chumash knowledge: native performers, academicians, curators and authors.

In 1983, the author began accompanying Chumash elder Vincent Tumamait on his visits to schools and museums. With Michael Ward, they demonstrated Chumash music for the Chumash Culture Youth Project sponsored by the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History; the Open House Festival of Performing Arts for Young People at the Hollywood Bowl, and the Annual American Indian Heritage Week for the U.S. Navy at Port Hueneme. Mr. Sterling has never participated in archaeological excavations, and rarely handles artifacts, preferring to verify oral accounts and illustrations by replication. His mission is to promote awareness of and appreciation for Chumash culture.

The author's love of writing stems from his early studies with his stepfather, the poet Norman Macleod (co-founder of New York's YMHA Poetry Center). Today Sterling's translations and readings of Sapphó, Baudelaire, Borges *et al* complement his preoccupation with things Chumash.

Community commitments include: President, Greater Ojai Fund for Environment (1979-'81); Board of Directors & Executive Secretary, Ojai Music Festivals (1981-'84); Director of Ojai Art Center (1982-'85).

CHUMASH WIND INSTRUMENTS

by Clarence R. Sterling

*Joy! They will create us with their breath,
those of the other place.*
— Old Carlos of Santa Ynez.

The hole of the flute is the pathway to thought.
— Fernando Librado Kitsepawit.

Among the Chumash and their neighbors, the wind instrument has served as a cultural key which not only makes music, but provides symbols for *serenity in the face of adversity* — the flute — and the *dangerous side of approaching the sacred* — the bullroarer. For countless years, Chumash grandparents reinforced these symbols by handing down relevant customs and beliefs through storytelling. As with most areas of Chumash knowledge, music is currently being relearned by studying components diverse as myth and manufacturing.

The intellectual and physical properties of Chumash instruments cannot be understood independently of one another. Fortunately for those wishing to resurrect this knowledge, there is the means to do so. Fernando Librado (Fernando the Free), a coastal messenger, or *ksen*, and Maria Solares (Maria of the Sun), an inland storyteller, were prominent among a handful of Chumash culture-preservers surviving into the early 1900s. Through extensive interviews, their memories became lenses joining two disparate worlds — behind, the thousand bright colors of bustling ancient villages; after, dusty boxes of yellow field notes stored at the Smithsonian.

Over half a century later, as scholars revive these transcriptions, the bullroarers' warning hums once more in Maria's parables, while in Fernando's enigmatic flute legends, Lizard's deft fingers soothe away the world's sorrow. Or is it only the wind?

Fernando Librado referred to the wind as *cenhes he'ishup'* — "breath of the world." Since Librado's elders considered air one of



"LAST REMNANTS OF VENTURA TRIBE"

by John Peabody Harrington

Ventura Free Press, October 3, 1923

"An opportunity to see a local Indian dance such as has not been given in Ventura since 1860, will be presented this evening when Captain Trehlawat and his singers will perform a ceremony at the women's Pavilion of the Fair grounds....Trehlawat is the only Indian dancing man left in all this region. His dancing costume is more than one hundred and fifty years old and was inherited from his dead uncle. This costume consists of a crown of beautiful black feathers from the tail of the road runner, and about it is wrapped a wreath of eagle down. An ancient hairpin is thrust thru the crown and long earrings of hawk feathers project from the ears. About his neck Trehlawat wears a necklace of abalone disks and about each wrist a weasel skin. About his waist hangs a skirt of network with pendant eagle feathers. His body is painted with red and black."

SEATED IN FOREGROUND: Captain Trehlawat (Bob Bautista).
SEATED ON BENCH, l-r: Jim Wilcox (Yokuts); Winay (Ventureño); Juliano Ignacio (Barbareño); Clara Miranda (Inesucma); Juan Solano (Migueleño Salinan); José Juan Olivas (Ventureño).



ANTONIO ROMERO, DESCENDANT OF
MARIA SOLARES, PERFORMING WITH
THE CHUMASH DOLPHIN DANCERS
HOLLYWOOD BOWL, 1987

earth's three basic elements, breathing was understood as the means by which the earth and the human constantly reaccept each other. Air links physical structure with the world of ideas. Created by breathing from a higher world where resides the sun, whose sighs we call the morning, the body exists in this middle world, the earth, whose breath is called the wind. When the sun carries one back to the other side, or the idea which became one's being returns to the mind from which it originated, the body ceases to breathe.

Grandparents were able to impress the importance of these concepts to certain children during the convulsive disruption of Chumash society occurring in the nineteenth century. In 1769 the Chumash population, estimated at 15,000, occupied clusters of prosperous villages along the coast from Malibu to Morro Bay, on the Santa Barbara Channel Islands, and scattered through the western Transverse

Ranges. By 1900, not one village remained. Some of the instructed children did survive, however, now growing old themselves. Shortly

before World War I, J. P. Harrington, a linguist for the Bureau of American Ethnology, began working with Chumash such as Fernando Librado, Maria Solares, and Candalaria Valenzuela, a Sespe River basketry artist. Enlightened teamwork saved profound information. More recent scholars, particularly Travis Hudson and Thomas Blackburn, have edited and published many of the vast Harrington notes explaining Chumash philosophy, an intellectual technology as important as any material artifacts.



FERNANDO LIBRADO
STANDING, L-R:
E. R. D. BARKER,
PAT FORBES, ca. 1913

In compiling the following survey of Chumash wind instruments, the author has striven to follow the advice of native elders and avoid both double-talk and indiscretion. To preserve the wilderness, some of the path must be shown so we all may approach this act with courage.



'ICH'UNASH, OR DEER TIBIA WHISTLE

Played by special performers at intervillage astronomical festivals organized by the paha and the 'antap council; often decorated with abalone and olivella shell inlays and cord wrapping.

Average length: ca. 10 1/2 inches.

Material: Bone, with a tarball partially plugging the vent.



DEER TIBIA WHISTLE FROM VCMHA COLLECTION

This instrument is especially valuable as the shell bead decorations (inlaid with asphaltum) are clearly arranged in the pattern of the Pleides (Taurus constellation).

1. 'Aqsiwo, the small whistle. A true whistle has no finger holes. Theoretically, it issues only one basic sound with a few overtones available by blowing harder and pursing the lips more. The author once heard a blind man in a restaurant play extensive melodies on a metal whistle, but that man was exceptional.

Chumash whistles are made from various materials including Carrizo reeds, red and blue elderberry stalks (thin, pithy red elderberry is easier to work; the woodier blue species is stronger and seems louder) and bone. Bird bones are preferred for their lightness. In 1977, Chumash music teacher Juanita Centeno showed the author an antique bird-bone whistle so thin and light, he could only play it by inhaling!

That whistle was open-ended with a clear inner bore. In the more standard design, after extracting the marrow or pith, a hole is cut through one side, and a ball or ridge of tar serves the function of the wood block called a "fipple" in a recorder or penny whistle's mouthpiece. Splitting the air column causes it to zigzag off the inner walls and resonate, rather than shooting straight through with little contact — *whee* instead of *shooosh*.

In Chumash society, whistles are far more than children's toys. Contemporary usage of whistles as alertness signals is closer to their ancient role. The alertness under consideration incorporates concern for physical safety while transcending it to encompass "lucid dreaming," the unity of thought and imagination. Whistles join all worlds by piercing their veils.

Bertha Blanco, one of Vincent Tumamait's sisters, tells of a deserted beach between Ventura and Santa Barbara called "Los Pitos," or "the whistles" (now "Rincon"). When Bertha was a child, boys gathered at Los Pitos in the evening to make and play whistles. Luisa McLean, another Chumash descendant, adds that on occasion, three "little, old men" performing on "long, little pipes with holes in them" would dance by the sea into the night (ca. 1910-1916).

Traditional Blackbird Dancers used an '*aqsliwo*' to imitate the birds' chaff sounds as they acted out avian movements of bathing and foraging. Barracuda portayers hung two whistles on a cord around each dancer's neck. The Barracuda Dancers then glided northward swaying, sidestepping and facing an invisible moving center while describing circles with each other which wound conversely but were concentric. (The native species of blackbird and barracuda are, respectively, *Agelaius phoeniceus* and *Sphyraena argentea*). In modern times, the Chumash have stretched the term '*aqsliwo*' to refer to the European harmonica.

2. *Ich'unash, the large bone whistle.* Native sources stress the sensitive nature of these objects, and that they should never be approached casually. *Ich'unash* are sacred and personal items buried with their owners by placing the whistles in alignment with cardinal and midcardinal compass points. Librado told the following story on himself, slightly paraphrased here from J.P.Harrington's notes:

"Once I got a chance to blow a tibia whistle at the house of Juan



TRANSVERSE FLUTE

This unusual flute is reported by the Heye Foundation to be from San Miguel Island. The flute has a large vent on the side, with the nearby end capped by a heavy asphaltum (tar) overlay. The player would hold the flute sideways in the modern "transverse" position; the instrument more than likely dates from the 19th century.

Length: 13 inches.

Material: Humerus (wingbone) of a brown pelican.

Pico (a Ventura carpenter with a Chumash mother). I took the whistle and imitated the actions of the ancient whistlers (said to contort their bodies while playing). Juan Pico got mad and would not talk to me for three days, for he thought I was making fun of their practice. An old lady jumped me for it."

A number of local native informants have explained that large bone whistles were played for the public, but from behind a screen which restricted an area to which only special initiates called '*antap*' had access. In outdoor gatherings at the *siliyik* or ceremonial structure, the *paha*, a ceremonial leader, cued two old men called '*lo'ka kinene*', "our grandmother."

Each old man kept his '*ich'unash*' soaking in water, and would remove it to play. "The whistlers...had mystical words in their hearts," Librado related. A Kitanemuk neighbor of the Chumash, Magdalena Olivos, added that some experts could play two whistles at one time.

The material of choice for an '*ich'unash*' is a large mammal's tibia (the inner and larger lower hind leg bone), usually deer or mountain



'ATAXA, OR MUSICAL BOW

Illustration based on photograph by J.P. Harrington, Smithsonian Institution, of Fernando Librado. The photo was probably taken in Ventura ca. 1913-1914. The '*at'axa* varied greatly in size. This style with tuning peg attributed to Yaqui and Sonoran Indians.

Material: Elderberry.

lion. Usage of the term "tibia" on various organ stops for flute-lipped wood pipes can be traced back to ancient bone wind instruments in Europe and Asia.

To manufacture a Chumash tibial whistle, one end of the bone is ground off, and a transverse slit is abraded for inserting the tar fipple. The distal end is bored for marrow removal, then plugged with more tar. Decoration consists of shells, usually small white olivella disc beads and larger, well-shaped abalone fragments, inlaid with tar adhesive. Cord-wrapping is common. Some olivella patterns have been associated with star groups, including Aquila (the Eagle), the Pleiades, and Orion's Belt.

The predilection of the Chumash for shrill, wavering whistle tones caused early Spanish explorers much grief at night. For the *paha*, whistles served to cue segments of ceremonies, and to prevent participants from becoming groggy, distracted or hypnotized by musical rhythms.

"Attention!" the *paha* intoned. "Ya! Ya! Ya!" ("Ya," an interjection translated by the Franciscans as "mira," that is, "look here," was also used in a clipped pronunciation of "ya" to mean "arrow.")

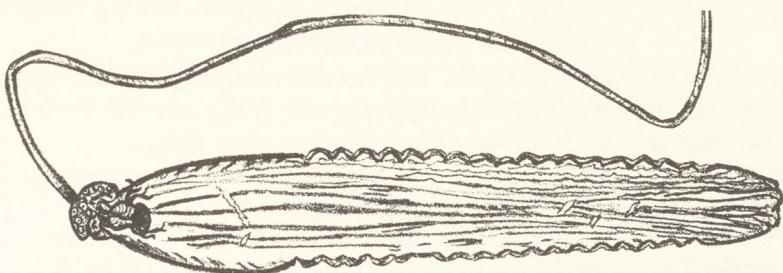
Contemporary Chumash elder Vincent Tumamait, who during the last five years has served frequently in a *paha* capacity, sometimes for groups of his people, sometimes for gatherings including other Indian and non-Indian people, conforms to the *pahas'* criteria for audience alertness. Tumamait begins his lectures with a Chumash phrase which he then translates as, "Snooze, and you lose; snore, and you lose more."

3. The flute. Scholars have identified up to eight distinct language groups among the Chumash, and the words for flute demonstrate interesting variants. The Ventureño word of the Ojai/Point Mugu area is *towoli'lay*; to the west around Santa Barbara we find *tiwalu'lay*; then, turning north and inland to the Ineseño, *tiwalula'y* is encountered (use Spanish pronunciations).

Chumash flutes have four or six finger-holes (musicians will translate this as pentatonic and diatonic scales). One flute from San Miguel Island appears to have a transverse design; it is to be held pointing sideways to the player and side-blown as the modern

orchestral flute. Chumash flutes were end-blown for the most part.

Except for having finger-holes to elicit a variety of pitches (the fingers usually lifted off one by one from the distal end until all holes are uncovered to achieve consecutively higher tones) manufacture is similar to that of whistles. Wood and bone were used. Elderberry flute blanks were dried by "sweating" the sap over a fire. Hardened toyon branches with sharp tips removed the pith. Finger-holes were

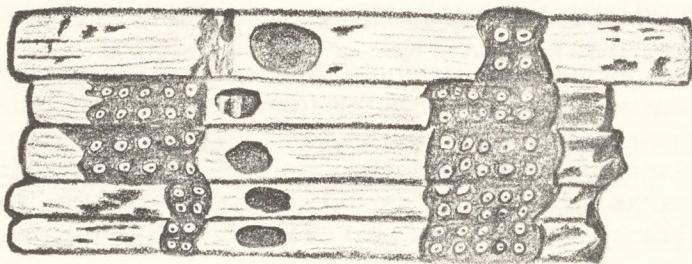


REDWOOD BULLROARER

Shaped and notched by Michael K. Ward, decorated by author. Redwood beached in Chumash area after big storms to the north; elderberry and pine were also used. Sounded by two simultaneous rotations: a spin (axis) and a twirl (orbit). Shell inlay on tar cap over cord's running end creates optical effect in firelight. Note missing teeth and various impact scars — bullroarers are dangerous.
Size: 16 x 3 3/8 inches.

burned or abraded. The "mouthpiece" end was notched and beveled to a thin edge to be placed opposite the player's lower lip for splitting the air column. *Embouchure*, the flutist's lip-shaping, is initially difficult, even frustrating...perhaps enmaddening. The flute, nevertheless, was played for pleasure and understanding, an instrument of leisure and love. It had its own songs, but could reproduce vocal melodies as well.

In Chumash narratives, the flute is a salvation from dangers as diverse as attack by monsters (Little Thunder and Little Fog save themselves from being inhaled by the demon *Haphap* by placing a flute across his cavernous mouth, and sitting on either end, according to Maria Solares and Luisa Ygnacia) and world-weariness (a man who observed the eternal conflicts caused by greed placed his flute



PAN PIPES

Ascribed to Diablo Canyon, the northernmost Chumash territory (*Obispeño*), these are five examples of the small whistle, or 'aqsliwo, inlaid together with ashphaltum bearing disc beads. The single 'aqsliwo was common at paha-led events, serving to awaken the spirits at the paha's cue. Some adhered 'aqsliwo pairs are reported from various times in California, but five-in-one is rare. This specimen may be modern-influenced; the design of each separate whistle, however, is traditional.

Size: 4 3/8 inches (longest whistle).

Material: Bone, with tar vent plugs.

to his ear, and heard the combined voices of the human heart humming like a throbbing in the air — Librado).

This provides an initial survey of what ethnomusicologists call wind instruments, or "aerophones." Indians use a type of "free aerophones," however, which are mysterious and very important. Free aerophones are sounded by wind, but not blown. The accordion is a modern example.

4. The bullroarer. The Ventureño word for this free aerophone is '*alaxtimimi*', with "x" pronounced as a light throat-clearing sound ("i" is *u* as in "up"). Bullroarers, along with rattles, are among the world's oldest instruments. Bullroarers are wooden slats whirled on a cord. The player learns to spin the slat on its cord's axis while also casting a circular path about his own head or body (as the name indicates, the bullroarer has traditionally been a male's instrument). The aural competition of the two pitches produced by the two motions (rotation and orbit) of the slat creates a low fluttering hum with a throbbing pulse which is appealing but eerie.



VERTICAL FLUTE

The more typical design of a towoli'lay — endblown with four-hole fingering (probably older than six-hole).

Size: The length varied, with wood specimens apt to be longer.
Material: Birdbone; cane used in Mission Period. Often decorated.

Bullroarers summoned participants to the *siliyik*. They also warned not to get too close. The twirling force of the bullroarers is dangerous. A whack on the head by one could do serious damage, and they are difficult to control. Specimens often show impact scars, as do performers' bodies. The usage of bullroarers during the Barracuda Dance was probably associated with that fish's dangerous ferocity, an idea enhanced by painting the instrument red. The barracuda bullroarer of the islanders had serrated edges evoking the creature's projecting lower jaw which is edged with large, sharp teeth.

In Solares' narratives, the sound or sight of bullroarers means: "You have stumbled on a sacred area. The penalty for disrespect is severe." One story tells of two old men once seen playing a flute and bullroarer in an island cave by an abalone-poaching "American." When the high tide rolled over them, the old men continued playing under water; another story relates how an Indian man who picked pine nuts in a sacred grove was overwhelmed by the sound of an immense invisible bullroarer. Neither disbeliever survived. At the same time, village children were apparently allowed sometimes to play with bullroarers.

A little-known free aerophone, a feathered tube whipped about on a "funeral rope," was reported among the Los Angeles Basin Indians by Mrs. A. Rosemyre, a Gabrieliño and Kitanemuk descendant. Called a *ho-yow't*, this instrument produced a sad moan.

5. 'At'axa, the musical bow. Some native distribution of this instrument in a small untuned form is thought probable. After Spanish contact, Yaqui and Sonoran Indians introduced a larger version with a tuning peg. Regular hunting bows were occasionally played as well. One end of the bow is held sideways before the player's open mouth while a finger plucks the taut string. Altering the mouth's aperture changes the pitch. *Boing broee-yoing*. This is a soft sound used for meditation, although Canadian-Cree singer Buffy Sainte-Marie has recorded with the musical bow. The technical classification of the musical bow is *chordophone* (stringed instrument), a younger class than aerophones.

"Tradition is ever-changing and alive," Frank LaPena reminded us in the January/February 1987 issue of *News from Native California*. But there is a tendency to "edit out" modern adaptions in looking at Indian art. . . or to pretend such adaptions are ancient. Partly because of this, insufficient attention has been given to mission orchestras of the last century. Performers were quite accomplished, and some Indian orchestras were large, over twenty players. Debate

over the sincerity and competence of the Franciscans continues, but on one point all informed readers will agree: the padres overtly abhorred native culture. Yet up and down the coast, flabbergasted clerics who never, we may rest assured, would indulge in merely polite flattery of their "wards," rose to terms of strong praise for the almost instant rapidity with which California coastal Indians learned and performed orchestral music. Writing from Mission San Buenaventura around 1815, Father Señan, who considered native music "weird," reported the Chumash as inclined to play any string or wind instrument, with "a facility for learning the sonatas"



PETER ZAVALLA
PERFORMING WITH THE
CHUMASH DOLPHIN DANCERS
ALBINGER MUSEUM, 1987



MISSION
SAN BUENAVENTURA
INDIAN ORCHESTRA,

1860

Andrés (drum);
Juan de Jesús
Tumamait (violin);
Chico (violin);
Jacinto Jesús
(rifle-barrel flute);
Ziano (triangle);
José María
(split-stick clapper).

Mission orchestra players usually crafted their own instruments, and one interesting adaption was the rifle-barrel flute. Surely the conversion of a gun into a musical instrument is a poignant parable from the mission craftsman to the Christian padre. Rifle-barrel flutes were played in the relatively modern transverse position (" . . . the sweet German flute" in the words of a Santa Ynez father, distinguished from the vertical "English" style of pointing the recorder away from the player) but vents were still finger-stopped.

The string section in mission groups was well-represented, and Vincent Tumamait's grandfather, Capitán Juan de Jesús Tumamait, played violin in such an orchestra during the 1870s. As a child, Vincent was given a hand-carved violin made by Vincent's father, Cecilio Tumamait. And, in the words of the mid-sixties anthem, "the beat goes on." Vincent's own grandchildren have recently learned some beautiful



DAUGHTERS
OF PETER ZAVALLA
CARRYING ON
THE TRADITION
HOLLYWOOD BOWL, 1987

old Chumash songs recorded by Fernando, Candalaria, Juan José Olivos, Rosario Cooper and others on wax cylinders by Harrington, as well as learning modern song adaptions in Chumash by Mr. Tumamait and the author. The grandchildren have also made whistles and studied some of the Blackbird Dance.

Giving new life to traditional knowledge is essential. Terrible damage has been enforced on Native Californian cultures by successive waves of invasion. It is easy to ignore the extensive damage those invaders, people of this author's race, have done to their *own* cultural traditions during the same last 150 years or so. In a day when the "Image Makers" portray art as an exclusive commercial product of superstars which they administer, the work of gently saving hand-crafted arts from the stream of oblivion and breathing them back into everyday awareness can be painful, but is always gratifying in the long run. As we lean into the battering winds of this world, everyone needs that comfort within. That is survival. Music makes that comfort possible.

Working from the Santa Ynez Indian community for a number of years now are the Dolphin Dancers, a very active group spanning several generations in performers' ages. Antonio Romero and Peter Zavalla are the Dolphin Dancers' founders. Antonio Romero is a descendant of Maria Solares, and a handcrafter of traditional wind instruments.

"Myself, and others, we try to keep the traditions alive," Mr. Romero says. "Then others say to themselves, 'We are alive!'"



**GIVING NEW LIFE
TO TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE**
L-R: Vincent Tumamait, Michael Ward,
Clarence Sterling

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Chumash to English; English to Chumash.

Interviews:

Candelaria Council

Juanita Centeno

Dr. Joan Halifax

Stephen Horne

Kote Lotah

Dr. Harley Swift Deer

Tony Romero

Peter Zavalla

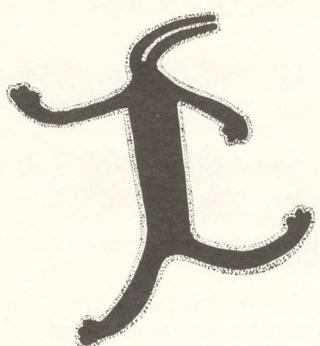
Special Helpers:

Grandmother Elderberry

Swirling Blackbird

Oak Toad

* * *



THE LEGEND OF COYOTE & LIZARD

Retold by
Clarence R. Sterling

*As told by Pio José to Fernando Librado Kitsepawit
who relayed it years later (1912-1915) to J. P. Harrington
amongst whose notes at the National Anthropological Archives,
Smithsonian Institution,
it was retrieved and edited by Thomas C. Blackburn
in December's Child, Berkeley: U.C., 1975.*

Lizard was called both He-of-the-flute, and '*Eneme'me*', which means "he sleeps, but his heart is vigilant." Anyone who's tried sneaking up on a sunbathing lizard, only to see the seemingly entranced reptile suddenly scamper, knows this name to be accurate. This quality of alertness at rest made lizard an appropriate dream-helper for musicians, who also appear entranced, but actually are always intent on inward counting.

The nimble fingers of Lizard enhanced his flute-playing. Lizard was so proud of his hands, he had snuck up on the rock used as the original mold for humans and pressed his fingers there for humans to have forever. Coyote, called *Shipiseewas*, meaning He-who-knows, was angry about that for some time, as he considered himself the boss of human being-building, and chased Lizard under many rocks. When they finally met one day on a lonely beach, both seemed to have forgotten about that ancient argument.

Lizard was attracted by the light of Santa Cruz Island's many poppies. "Now I'll know the source of all the world's light," Lizard thought. Serenity overcame him. He played his flute, whose four holes were the world's voice.

Coyote himself was now in hiding. The people of *Hutash*, or earth, were furious at Coyote for claiming Turtle had beat Hawk in a race. "I am tired of hiding all the time," Coyote told Lizard.

Reaching the island separately, they found the beautiful poppies. When they met again on the mainland beach, Lizard gave Coyote a poppy carried back in his flute. Coyote gave the poppy to the princess of *Hutash* for her forgiveness.

"Here is your reflection," Coyote told her. The princess promised her people would not burn Coyote up, but suggested he be less arrogant about his capabilities.

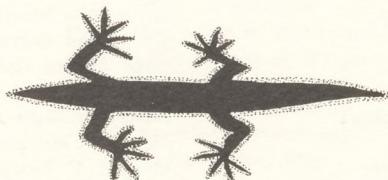
Coyote sought Lizard and asked, "What is going to be the result of all this?" In response, Lizard said only, "Listen," and played his flute.

Coyote was blown away by the flute's ability to accept the sadness of the world. He surrendered to the world's power, and was happy at last. Coyote sang this song for Lizard:

Q'wilmiye, q'wilmiye,
Chuqile ha!
(I'm right on the mark —
Let truth emerge . . .)

Then Coyote told Lizard never to let anyone make fun of his flute-playing, and never to entertain people with evil minds.

After that, Coyote and Lizard parted, each to get along as best he could — Lizard, by being able to play the flute, and Coyote, by the use of his weatherbeaten social graces. They met again, but that is another story.



Note on Pronunciation: The neutral vowel printed as "i" is pronounced somewhat as the sound "u" in the word "up." The glottal stop printed as an apostrophe ('') is pronounced, or rather **not** pronounced, as the stoppage of breath shown by the hyphen in the phrase "oh-oh." The other vowels and consonants in the above Chumash words can be pronounced as in Spanish.

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